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Race! That Murray Book

by Murray N. Rothbard

Under the spell of a misplaced analogy from Darwinian theory, analysts for over a century liked to think of social change as necessarily gradual, minute, and glacial. The idea of any sort of radical or "revolutionary" social change became unfashionable among intellectuals and social scientists. The political and cultural revolutions of the twentieth century have altered that perspective, and observers are now more willing to entertain the idea of sudden revolutionary change.

Well, one vital and recent social change has been not only truly revolutionary but has occurred at almost dizzying speed. Namely: Until literally mid-October 1994, it was shameful and taboo for anyone to talk publicly or write about, home truths which everyone, and I mean *everyone*, knew in their hearts and in private: that is, almost self-evident truths about race, intelligence, and heritability. What used to be widespread shared public knowledge about race and ethnicity among writers, publicists, and scholars, was suddenly driven out of the public square by Communist anthropologist Franz Boas and his associates in the 1930s, and it has been taboo ever since. Essentially, I mean the almost self-evident fact that individuals, ethnic groups, and races differ among themselves in intelligence and in many other traits, and that intelligence, as well as less controversial traits of temperament, are in large part hereditary.

While, in contrast to many other countries, the professional egalitarian Left in the United States has not been able to use government censorship as one of its weapons of expulsion, it has used every other smear and bullying tactic, high and low, to drive any such sentiments out of public life, to suppress discussion and scholarship, as well as any genuine freedom of inquiry or research in what had long been a flourishing area of study. In a deep sense, this was an early manifestation of Political Correctness, after

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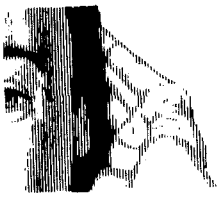

THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

In the only up-or-down popular vote on welfare in history—California's Prop. 187—Jack Kemp and Bill Bennett campaigned to keep illegal aliens on the dole, urged on by Bill Kristol and Ron Unz. They were aided by the Cato Institute, the Heritage Foundation, the Reason Foundation, the Manhattan Institute, the Alexis de Tocqueville Institution, and the Competitive Enterprise Institute, according to the *Orange County Register,* itself an anti-187 organ.

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(THE EAR...cont. from pg. 1)

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Big-Government Libertarians now say they believe in "individual property rights." Why the modifier? Because they want to enforce totalitarian civil rights against corporations.

*****

The "Rev." Richard John Neuhaus lifted an item—without attribution—from our "P.C. Watch" in his November *First Things*. It's the story about S.H.E.E.P., the mythical Harvard bestiality organization that all the liberals approved of. Dick is a disciple of Martin Luther King, so this must be voice-merging.

*****

I've reported before that the hate campaign against Ollie North was motivated, in part, by the neocons' perception that he tried to put America first during Iran-Contra. Now he is reviled as one of "Israel's worst enemies" in a new book on *The Secret War Against the Jews* by John Loftus and Mark Aarons (St. Martins, 1994). Also on the enemies list: Margaret Thatcher, Winston Churchill, and Queen Elizabeth II!

*****

Ignoring better-trained Naval physicians, Bill Clinton has chosen a pretty, young female MD as his White House doctor. He is said to appreciate the fact that she is always just a moment away in case of an "emergency."

*****

Paula Jones, the young woman called to a hotel room by a state trooper and then flashed by Bill Clinton, says she has proof: a sworn statement about the unique characteristics of Willie's, well, willie. How about a line-up?

*****

One offer made by Clinton's lawyer, the evil Robert Bennett, but rejected by Paula, would have had the prez announce: "I have no recollection of meeting Paula Jones on May 8, 1991, in a room at the Excelsior Hotel. However, I do not challenge her claim that we met there."

*****

Come to think of it, with the horrible example of Hillary before us, and realizing that most recent First Ladies have been further to the Left than their husbands, we ought to do a thorough vetting of all prospective wives as well as the would be Republican nominees for President themselves. On that test, Bob Dole would have to be given a pass in '96. ■

(RACE!...cont. from pg. 1)

which other virulent forms of P.C. were added on top of this previous foundation. In the area of scientific research, the last truthful comprehensive book on the subject, *Race*, by the great British scientist John R. Baker, was published by the distinguished Oxford University Press in the 1970s. But Oxford Press was virtually forced, by intense pressure, if not to withdraw the book openly, at least to suppress it in practice by giving it as little circulation as possible.

The racial thought police were able to eliminate all Racially Incorrect traces, even of humor.

For the rest of society, the racial thought police were able to suppress journalism, and to eliminate all Racially Incorrect traces not only of media sentiment, but even of humor, and the rich American heritage of ethnic humor has almost been stamped out of existence.

The basic tactic of the egalitarian Left rulers was, of course, not to dignify any books engaging in candid in-

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quiry into the race question by openly rebutting them. After all, to engage in any sort of public debate, in lecture hall or in print, with The Enemy runs the risk of the egalitarian actually losing, or at least demonstrating to lay intellectuals or to the general public that maybe a plausible case can be made for this horrible heresy. So the ruling tactic of the Left was to engage in what Harry Elmer Barnes, in another connection, called "the blackout," and for the rest to smear the heretic relentlessly with the usual P.C. smear labels we have come to know and love so well: "racist," "fascist," "Nazi," "sexist," "heterosexist," and so on. Better to black out and smear, to marginalize the heretic into shame and oblivion.

The political situation of the 1930s and 40s was used to cunning effect by the egalitarian Left to stamp out all opposition. Any expression of racial home truths was automatically lambasted as "fascist," "Nazi," and therefore ultra-rightist." In fact, all of this was a fabrication. The leading "racial scientists" from the 1890s until the 1930s were in agreement across the ideological and political spectrum. In fact, most of the leading racial scientists were Progressives, Left-liberals, and New Dealers. In that period, only Communists and other Marxists were egalitarians, for ideological reasons. But the Commies were able to use their extensive ideological and propaganda machine during that era to somehow link Nazi persecution of Jews to racism, and with doctrines of racial superiority and inferiority. In that way, the Commies were able to bully or convert all manner of liberals and leftists, including those ex-Trotskyites and liberals who would much later become neo-conservatives. This left the conservatives, who were the least amenable to Marxist influence, but who in turn were bullied into submission by being smeared savagely as "Hitlerite" for any expression of racialist views.

In point of fact, however, it should be clear that Hitler and the Nazis did *not* persecute Jews because they believed Jews to be inferior in intelligence. And as for blacks, there were too few blacks residing in Europe for the Nazis to bother about, much less persecute. Where pre-World War II racialism *was* politically relevant was, e.g. in immigration-cutting policies in the United States, and in sterilization of welfare mothers as part of various state welfare programs. Both of these policies, however, could be and were supported on other than racialist grounds.

During the past sixty years, racial research or expression of views by intellectuals has been marginalized and almost literally driven underground by pressure from above and from below. But in October, 1994, with incredible speed, the entire culture did a 180-degree turn. Upon the publication by the respected Establishment, The Free Press, of Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray's *The Bell Curve*, expressing in massively stupefying scholarly detail what everyone has always known but couldn't dare to express about race, intelligence, and heritability, the dam suddenly burst. It's not that all the reviews were favorable. Not at all. But the crucial point is that the Blackout suddenly collapsed; the Herrnstein-Murray book (since Herrnstein died before publication, it is now for all publicity purposes "the Murray book") is remarkably everywhere, attacked in *Newsweek* as well as the predictable *New Republic*, treated as The Cultural Phenomenon of the year. Not only that: the attacks may be bitter, but they are not the traditional mindless smears: no one has dismissed the book as "racist," "fascist," "neo-Nazi," and all the rest.

There are many mind-boggling aspects to the Herrnstein-Murray breakthrough. *The Bell Curve* is becoming a runaway best-seller, certainly for a non-fiction work on a serious topic; and yet, it is not a book that more than a handful of scholars are actually going to read. How often do we see a 900-page work, filled with boring statistics and social science jargon, become a coffee-table book, the sort of book that my dear you simply *have* to display to show that you are abreast of the times?

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Perhaps the most mind-boggling cultural response, one that most needs explanation, was that of the Queen of middlebrow, the newspaper that Sets the Line telling intellectuals, media people, journalists, think-tankers, etc. what to think: the august *New York Times Sunday Book Review*. In fact, we can, for once, pinpoint the cultural and social revolution on the Race Question to one precise date: October 16, 1994—the date when the august Establishment *New York Times* ostentatiously threw in the towel. For the *Sunday Book Review* devoted the front cover, and *three entire pages* to a blockbuster review of three recent "racist" books, a review which not only did not engage in the usual Marxoid smears, but was objective, respectful and actually favorable! We have to realize, in the first place, that such a length for a review in the *Sunday Times* is unprecedented; authors will kill for the publicity of having *part* of a page in the *Review*, much less three full pages. Secondly, instead of the usual *Times* practice of turning books of this type over to Harvard Marxist hatchetmen, paleontologist Stephen Jay Gould and biologist Richard Lewontin, or one of their ilk, the review is by *New York Times* science reporter Malcolm W. Browne, who treats these works in a way similar books should have been treated over the past six decades.

Not only that: the Herrnstein-Murray book almost drowns its subject in statistics and qualifications, and it tries to downplay the entire race issue, devoting most of its space to inheritable differences among individuals *within* each ethnic or racial group. Truly incredible is the treatment Browne gives to the far harder-core, more ideologically explosive though also strictly scientific work of Professor J. Phillippe Rushton, *Race, Evolution, and Behavior*, published by the respected and courageous Transaction Publishers affiliated with Rutgers University. Transaction has been, for decades, one of the very few publishers in America genuinely devoted to freedom of intellectual inquiry and freedom of scholarly expression. The third work is the unabashedly conservative-libertarian book by Smith College education professor Seymour Itzkoff, *The Decline of Intelligence in America* (Praeger). Not only are all these books treated soberly and favorably by Browne, but he also points out the shamefulness of the suppression of such views and research for decades. Thus, Browne writes that "the articulation of issues touching on group intelligence and ethnicity has been neither fashionable nor safe for the last three decades," but that these books are "worth plowing through and mulling over." For Browne agrees with these scholars that "the time has come to grasp the nettle of political heresy, to discard social myths and to come to grips with statistical evidence." And Browne concludes what for the *Times* is a massive review, that "the most insistent plea of the four authors is for freedom of debate and an end to the shroud of censorship imposed upon scientists and scholars by pressure groups and an acquiescing society." He then notes that Herrnstein and Murray write that "for the last 30 years, the concept of intelligence has been a pariah in the world of ideas," and adds that the "time has come to rehabilitate rational discourse on the subject." Browne's ringing last sentence: "It is hard to imagine a democratic society doing otherwise." Wowie!

How Come?

So how do we explain this phenomenon? How do we account for the fact that straight talk on race, intelligence, and heredity has gone, *in one week*, from being taboo to being almost old-hat? What in blazes has happened?

In the first place, those who believe in the accidental theory of history have their work cut out for them. No one can convince me that, on a subject of such delicacy and of such magnitude, that this tremendous change of opinion was purely a matter of intellectual fashion, of spontaneous combustion, or sudden consideration and deep conviction. No topic can shift from being shamefully

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Naziish to respectable and even scientific status overnight and by sudden acclamation (the surprise here, to repeat, is not simply the favorable and long review in the *Times*, but that the critics suddenly shifted from black-out-and-smear to mere hostility and widespread publicity). Surely, in this particular case, the unprovable "paranoid" view that a few powerful Establishment figures pushed some button is far more plausible an explanation.

Science Will Out

So why did this incredible turnaround occur? In the first place, there is the important point that, praise the Lord, science and truth, though long delayed and deferred, will eventually win out. In the long run, truth cannot be suppressed. In the last few decades, there has been an explosion of genetic and intelligence research, here and in Europe, despite the atmosphere ranging from subtle to brutal suppression. Despite the lack of government or Establishment foundation research funding, despite academic assaults on scholars, and student and community thugs preventing such researchers from lecturing or teaching, there has been an overwhelming accumulation of scientific data confirming, time and again, what everyone knows from his own and from others' observations.

Of the two authors of *The Bell Curve*, Charles Murray is the best-known in conservative circles as a neoconservative/Left-libertarian researcher whose elaborate statistics confirmed what everyone knew anyway: that the welfare state injures, rather than benefits, its alleged beneficiaries, and only aggravates the problem. So what else is new, Charlie? But the real star of the duo is the late Harvard Professor Richard Herrnstein, a Harvard psychologist who was no conservative at all, but instead an old-fashioned left-liberal, that is, one of the rare liberals still dedicated to genuine freedom of inquiry and to the search for scientific truth. When, two decades ago, Herrnstein became interested in intelligence and heritability, and before he had even ventured into the troubled area of race, he suddenly found his classes and lectures invaded and himself physically assaulted by the student/community Left. Refusing to be intimidated, Herrnstein pressed on, regardless of threats or of the developing storm of Political Incorrectness.

Praise the Lord, science and truth, though long delayed and deferred, will eventually win out.

Other scientists, here and abroad, including such intelligence experts as Belfast professor Richard Lynn, have confirmed these doctrines over and over. Philippe Rushton, a heroic professor at University of Western Ontario, has literally not been able to teach any of his classes in person, because of continued disruption by thugs. (The "thug" category is not, despite implications of the U.S. media, confined to followers of General Cedras in Haiti.) Fortunately, the Western Ontario University authorities have backed Rushton's academic independence to the hilt, and he is permitted to have all of his lectures shown to classes on videotape.

In the light of this explosion of research, it has been increasingly difficult for the Marxoid Left to maintain its egalitarian posture, which more and more smacks of the absurd environmentalist "Lysenkoism" of the shameful era of Soviet genetics. As a result, the scholarly Left has fallen back on two tactics to combat the inegalitarian threat. One is the frank if truly horrifying admission that "even if racialist science is true, it should be suppressed because its social and political conclusions are immoral." Such a frank position that

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truth must be suppressed for alleged social or political considerations, is a true "treason of the intellectuals," a candid junking of the entire point of scholarship and research. It is a position that cannot be condemned too severely, and should be the occasion for the drumming of every advocate out of any sort of public discourse. For how can a self-proclaimed liar and suppressor of truth be taken seriously ever again?

The second fallback position was a tactic that worked for a long time. Its success negates the Hayek position that the only sure way to convert the culture is to first convert the leading philosophers and scientists, who in turn persuade other academics, who in turn convert journalists and media people, who in turn change the course of public opinion. Apart from the slowness of this process (it could take centuries), we have seen all too often that it has been short-circuited wherever science or other knowledge enters a hot-button area. Maybe it worked in the old days when journalists tried to be objective truth-seekers, and were content to sample and report to the public authoritative opinion in whatever science or discipline they were covering. As responsible journalists, they set aside their own personal views in the service of their once honorable profession. But in recent years, as we are all aware, journalists and media people have generally become not objective reporters, but missionary zealots with their own ideological agenda for brainwashing the public. We have seen this process in the various pesticide and other environmentalist scares of the last decades. Most scientists did not believe that Alar on apples was a big cancer threat (it is far less of a threat, ironically, than "natural" apples themselves). Most scientists do not believe that "global warming" has ever been established, much less worry about hair sprays or air-conditioners as an important contributor. The media people, knowing this, simply distort the process by always going for quotes to the small handful of scientific propagandists who are leftists with their own fanatical environmentalist agenda.

The dam burst, and the accumulation of scientific data and research simply became too much.

The same has been true in the case of race and intelligence. One would think from the quantity of their quotes that the only biologists, geneticists, or intelligence experts in this huge country were Harvard Marxoids Gould and Lewontin, occasionally backstopped by their leftist colleague Leon Kamin. One would certainly never know that the bulk of their colleagues differ totally with their professional-egalitarian position. Unlike many other areas, there is no media attempt at "balance" in these fields.

One might excuse this bias as a typical media search for a punchy sound-bite, for a quick dramatic quote, whereas scientists tend to talk in measured, qualified tones. But this defense would be a cop-out, since the media could at least inform us that most scientists disagreed, and they could seek out some punchy counter-quotes from people like Rushton, and treat them *with the same deference* they show Harvard Marxists. Hah!

At any rate, we can say that in mid-October, the dam burst, and the accumulation of scientific data and research simply became too much for Gould, Lewontin & Co. to block.

Certainly, this accumulating tension between scientific truth and the ruling propaganda is part of the explanation of what's happened. But the problem is that it's only a long-run explanation. We still have the puzzle; why did the breakthrough occur *now*, in October 1994, and why does it

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center around the Herrnstein-Murray book? All the boring statistics? Sure, but, for example, decades ago, Audrey M. Shuey's book *The Testing of Negro Intelligence*, published by a small southern university press, was equally impressive in its statistics, and yet it sank without a trace.

Part of the answer, I believe, is precisely that Audrey Shuey was not a neocon beloved by conservative and free-market think-tanks, and she was not a Harvard professor. All too often, the key to public and scholarly success is not *what* you're saying, but who you are and who is backing you.

Justifying the Elite

So let us go on to a bold, though persuasive, hypothesis: the powerful neocons, despite the smallness of their number, have an iron grip on much public political opinion—through their raft of syndicated columnists, their control of numerous Official Conservative and Left-libertarian Beltway thinktanks, financed by wealthy neocon foundations, as well as their domination of influential magazines and organs of opinion, headed by the editorial page of the *Wall St. Journal*. Let's assume—and there have been increasing indications of this in recent years—that the neocons have decided to junk their longtime support for the Black Movement. But this doesn't explain the turnaround of the *New York Times*, which is no longer neocon (since the exit of Abe Rosenthal, John Corry, and Hilton Kramer), and is now the voice of left-liberalism in the United States, (followed closely by the *Washington Post*. So what happened with liberals? To put it bluntly, white liberals have gotten sick of the Black Movement. Their hysteria about the black nationalism of Luis Farrakhan and its infusion into the NAACP under Benjamin Chavis is a case in point. For why should anyone not a member of the NAACP care what it does, or who it selects as its head? But white liberals care deeply, because the black nationalists are right about this one: the NAACP, and other "civil rights" organizations, were dominated from the very beginning by a minority of white leaders, partially through white financing and partly through white influence over the mainstream media and mainstream politicians. I don't blame blacks one bit for being sick of white control of ostensibly black organizations; if I were black, I'd be trying to cast these people off myself. And why not?

But white liberals, in contrast (and neocons, too, who are, after all, only right-wingish liberals) feel that the blacks are ingrates, as well as threats to their own power. So the white liberals, also driven by the well-known intensifying horrors of crime and welfare, finally became fed up. They decided, at long last, that *they* had had enough, and that they would pull the plug on the black movement that they had done so much to create and foster. As part of what must have been this deliberate and weighty decision, the liberals (and neocons) decided to remove the stranglehold that the Marxoid Far Left, the Goulds, the Lewontins, and their ilk, had been permitted to maintain in suppressing scientific truth in the area of race and intelligence. And then, bingo! the dam broke. The United Left Front of neocons, liberals, blacks and the Far Left had suddenly dissolved.

The fact that the neocons and liberals chose to take their stand on a book filled with statistics and the rest of the prestigious apparatus of science, co-authored by a liberal Harvard professor and by a neocon-Left-libertarian think-tanker, now makes a great deal of sense. It is hardly a coincidence. What better book on which to throw down the gauntlet to the Hard Left?

But there is another, more hidden, and more sinister, aspect to this new stand by neocons and liberals. When all is said and done, as we will emphasize further below, both neocons and liberals are statists. They don't want freedom or free markets. They don't want, for example, genuinely private or home schooling. What they want is national statism run, not by leftists, but by themselves. They want their own kind of welfare state, and they want

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a nationalized educational system, public and private, run by themselves. Both groups are strongly opposed to the populist movement sweeping this country, a movement profoundly hostile to any form of national socialism and to its embodiment in Washington, D.C. Liberals and neocons both favor rule by a small Washington power elite, an elite which they claim to be merely a natural "meritocracy." Since they, the liberal and neocon intellectuals and technocrats, generally have a higher IQ than most of the rest of the population, what better way to justify their own meritocratic rule than by invoking the majesty of Science? Here we have a key to the sudden embrace by neocons, and even by liberals, of the scientific truth about race and intelligence.

But After All, So What?

There are many wonderful things that paleos, conservatives and libertarians, can celebrate about this new revolutionary cultural turn on race. First and foremost, and despite the common smears against paleos as theocrats and inveterate opponents of free speech, paleos are the most fervent and genuine advocates of freedom of speech and of inquiry in this country. The end of the blackout and of the smears against truth-seekers in the area of race and intelligence is a wonderful thing for its own sake. And secondly, of course, the egalitarian myth has been the major ideological groundwork for the welfare state, and, in its racial aspect, for the entire vast, ever expanding civil rights-affirmative action-setaside-quota aspect of the welfare state. The recognition of inheritance and natural inequalities among races as well as among individuals knocks the props out from under the welfare state system.

But, when all is said and done, the truth about race and IQ means a lot more to liberals and to neocons than it does to paleos. For the liberals and neocons, being statist to the core, are obliged to seize control of resources and to allocate them *somehow* among the various groups of the population. Liberals/neocons are "sorters," they aim to sort people out, to subsidize here, to control and restrict there. So, to the neocon or liberal power elite, ethnic or racial science is a big thing because it tells these sorters who exactly they should subsidize, who they should control, who they should restrict and limit. Should they use taxpayer funds to subsidize the "disadvantaged" or geniuses? Which is more socially productive, which dysgenic? I remember the only time I ever met neocon Godfather Irving Kristol; it was many years ago, at a conference critical of egalitarianism in Switzerland. It did not take long before the two of us got into a bitter argument because Kristol wanted geniuses declared a "national resource"; I hotly commented that such a declaration implied (a) that taxpayers should be forced to subsidize geniuses as "national resources"; and (b) that it followed that these subsidized would then be subject to government control. Kristol, as I remember, never denied such implications.

But while neocons and liberals want the planners and national statists to sort, subsidize, and control, for which they need scientific data such as intelligence as guides, paleos are very different. Paleos believe in *liberty*; paleos believe in the rights of person and property; paleos want no government subsidizers or controllers. Paleos want Big Government off all of our backs, be we smart or dumb, black, brown or white.

It is truly fascinating that, while liberals and neocons have been deriding paleos for years as notorious "racists," "fascists," "sexists," and all the rest, that actually we, as libertarians, are the last group who deserve such a label: that, in fact, liberals and neocons, as people who all stand with the power elite over the ordinary Americans, are far more deserving of the statist-racist-fascist label. Every leading paleo, moreover, independently came to this conclusion in response to the remarkable events in and around October 16.

On the weekend of October 21-23, the John Randolph Club held its fifth annual meeting at Washington, D.C.

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It was perhaps the best ever, a marvelous conference filled with extraordinarily high-level speeches, a rousing debate on "Resolved: the federal government has the right and the duty to protect individual rights," a great songfest of paleo lyrics composed to old song favorites, and a pervasive spirit of good fellowship. The new turn on race was the talk of the JRC corridors, and, it turns out that, independently of each other, all of us, from syndicated columns by Sam Francis and Pat Buchanan to a sparkling JRC luncheon address by Tom Fleming, all of us rang variations on one theme: that, welcome as the Herrnstein-Murray and other findings were, *our* political program—in contrast to liberals and neocons—does not depend on truths about race at all. That *we* are libertarians, who are opposed to rule by *any* power elite, whether meritocratic or not.

For example, take a syndicated column by Sam Francis, entitled "Race, IQ, and Big Government." After discussing the Herrnstein-Murray and other findings, Francis declares that "what really frightens people [about these findings] is that racial differences in intelligence might be used to justify repression." But, Francis adds, "whatever the implication of the IQ research, racial repression doesn't follow. The basic rights that American and Western society recognizes do not differ according to intelligence." And then Francis quotes a marvelous passage from a letter of Thomas Jefferson (no racial egalitarian he): "whatever be their [the blacks'] degree of talent it is no measure of their rights. Because Sir Isaac Newton was superior to others in understanding, he was not therefore lord of the person or property of others." Rights, Francis adds, are in no way proportionate to one's intelligence.

Sam Francis then concludes with a splendid affirmation of the basic paleo political program: "What you think the state ought to do about race has little to do with what you think about race. It has everything to do with what you think about the state. Under the properly limited federal government with which this country started out and to which it should return, the state would be unable to do very much at all about race" On the other hand, Francis points out, "in the modern leviathan created by liberals, where smoking, sexual beliefs and guns are approved targets of federal meat-grinding, there's no limit to what the state might do about race or those of whose IQs it doesn't approve."

The book is "a bullet right through the heart of socialism." But, Buchanan adds, "for the rest of us, what is the big deal?"

For his part, the response of that much-smeared-as "racist" paleo, Pat Buchanan, was similar. In his column, "Making Sense of the IQ Furor," Pat points out that a famed American war hero of World War I, backwoodsman Sergeant Alvin York, was scarcely a member of what Herrnstein and Murray call the "cognitive elite," whereas the perjurer and Commie spy Alger Hiss surely was. Pat goes on that "to those determined to use the coercive power of government to achieve equality of result," the Herrnstein-Murray findings are "devastating news"; that their book is "a bullet right through the heart of socialism." But, he adds, "for the rest of us, what is the big deal?"

Indeed. All of us, Pat points out, grew up realizing that some kids are more gifted, more intelligent, more talented than others. So what? The crucial thing is not so much one's talent but what one does with it, not merely IQ, but especially character: "decency, honor, goodness." Moreover, "while those of high IQ may dominate the

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academic world, the bureaucracies, corporate and governmental, the arts, professions, and think tanks, in America there has always been opportunity for those with dreams and drive....In America, character, not IQ, is destiny."

Pat's attitude is that of a true paleo, a right-wing populist; we can let statists of various brands: be they hard leftists, liberals, or neocons, worry about how exactly government should allocate our resources, or who exactly should climb high in the ranks of the power elite. Paleos are concerned rather about freedom, and about sweeping away the entire power elite structure that is tyrannizing over us all.

All right, then, members of the Smear Bund: *who* are the "racists" now?

So: Why Talk About Race at All?

If, then, the Race Question is really a problem for statists and not for paleos, why should we talk about the race matter at all? Why should it be a political concern for us; why not leave the issue entirely to the scientists?

Two reasons we have already mentioned; to celebrate the victory of freedom of inquiry and of truth for its own sake; and as a bullet through the heart of the egalitarian-socialist project. But there is a third reason as well: as a powerful defense of the results of the free market. If and when we as populists and libertarians abolish the welfare state in all of its aspects, and property rights and the free market shall be triumphant once more, many individuals and groups will predictably not like the end result. In that case, those ethnic and other groups who might be concentrated in lower-income or less prestigious occupations, guided by their socialistic mentors, will predictably raise the cry that free-market capitalism is evil and "discriminatory" and that therefore collectivism is needed to redress the balance. In that case, the intelligence argument will become useful to defend the market economy and the free society from ignorant or self-serving attacks. In short; racialist science is properly not an act of aggression or a cover for oppression of one group over another, but, on the contrary, an operation in defense of private property against assaults by aggressors.

It looks as if the Left egalitarian blackout-and-smear gang has been dealt a truly lethal blow.

In any case, there is cause for jubilation these days, for it looks as if the Left egalitarian blackout-and-smear gang has been dealt a truly lethal blow. ■

St. Hillary and the Religious Left

by M.N.R.

For some time I have been hammering at the theme that the main cultural and political problem of our time is *not* "secular humanism." The problem with making secularism the central focus of opposition is that, by itself, secularism would totally lack the fanaticism, the demonic energy, the continuing and permanent drive to take over and remake the culture and the society, that has marked the Left for two centuries. Logically, one would expect a secular humanist to be a passive skeptic, ready to adapt to almost any existing state of affairs; David Hume, for example, a philosophic disaster but quietly benign in social and political matters, would seem to be typical. Hardly a political and cultural menace.

No: the hallmark and the fanatical drive of the Left for these past centuries has been very different: a sometimes atheized, often Pantheized, the ("New Age") and origi-

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nally and still continuing as a heretical Christian, movement. All these variants unite in devoting tireless energy to bringing about, as rapidly as they can, their own egalitarian, collectivist version of a Kingdom of God on Earth. [See my "The Menace of the Religious Left," *RRR*, October, 1994]. In short, this truly monstrous movement is what might be called "Left-post-millennialist." It is messianic and post-millennialist because Man, not Christ or Providence, is supposed to bring about the Kingdom of God on Earth [KGE], that is, in the Christian version, that Christ is only supposed to return to earth *after* Man has established the 1,000 year KGE. It is Leftist because in this version, the KGE is egalitarian and collectivist, with private property stamped out, and the world being run by a cadre, or vanguard of Saints.

During the 1820s, the Protestant Churches in the Northern states of the U.S. were taken over by a wave of post-millennial fanatics determined to impose on local, state, and federal governments, and even throughout the world, their own version of a theocratic statist KGE. [See also my "America's Most Persecuted Minority," *RRR*, August, 1994]. A "Yankee" ethnocultural group had originated in New England, and had migrated to settle the northern areas of New York and the Middle-Western states. The Yankees were driven by the fanatical conviction that they themselves could not achieve salvation unless they did their best to maximize everyone else's: which meant, among other features, to devote their energies to instituting the sinless society of the KGE.

These newly mainstream Yankee Protestant churches were always statist, but the major emphasis in the early decades was the stamping out of "sin", sin being broadly defined as virtually any form of enjoyment, and included (for theological reasons) slavery. By the later years of the nineteenth century, however, economic collectivism received increasing attention by these Left millennialist Protestants, and strictly theological and Christological concerns gradually faded away, culminating in the explicitly socialistic Social Gospel movement in all the Protestant churches. While every one of the Yankee Protestant denominations was infected and dominated by Left millennialism, this heresy prevailed almost totally in the Methodist Church.

Saint Hillary

Which brings us to our beloved First Couple. I have already mentioned in the October *RRR* that Slick Willie, in addressing a black Gospel church in Maryland on behalf of God's alleged commandment to pass his crime bill, revealingly told the assembled congregation that the goal of his "ministry" is to bring about "the Kingdom of God on earth." That should have sounded the fire alarm throughout the nation. Unfortunately, to an American

Quotes That Need No Comment

Boaz and Crane were spending every morning in Ed's office laughing hysterically over some new information about Rothbard's activities. It was like being transported into some silly college fraternity [and the] same old animosities drive current personal, even institutional decisions.—Robert Formaini, *Liberty*

Without interfering with the United States, the government of Mexico will work actively to prevent the passage of the anti-immigration [California] initiative 187. It's so reminiscent of what happened in other parts of the world and at other times in history. It's not unlike what happened in Germany in the 1930s or Yugoslavia in the '80s—Andres Rozental, Deputy Foreign Minister of Mexico, *L.A. Times*

"Nine out of ten humans killed?" author [of "The Hot Zone"] Richard Preston asks. "And you're not bothered." A look of mysterious amusement crosses the face [of Karl Johnson, discoverer of the killer Ebola Reston virus.] "A virus can be useful to a species by thinning it out," he says.—Knight-Ridder Newspapers

"RWANDA REFUGEE CRISIS IS THREATENING GORILLAS IN NEIGHBORING AREAS— *New York Times*

They used to tell us we couldn't write off the black vote and expect to win. I don't know how the Democrats can write off the white males and expect to win.—Tom Edmonds, Republican consultant, *USA Today*

Women want to change Washington. Men want to torch it.—Democratic consultant Celinda Lake, *USA Today*

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public possessing little knowledge of history or theology, Clinton's remarkable statement went unreported.

But, as we all know, it is Hillary, not Slick Willie, who is the hard-core ideologue in the White House. Hillary's theological agenda was perceptively unveiled recently by the knowledgeable, if admiring and liberal, Kenneth L. Woodward, religion editor of *Newsweek*. [Kenneth L. Woodward, "Soulful Matters," *Newsweek* (Oct. 31, 1994), pp. 23-25.] In a lengthy exclusive interview with Hillary, Woodward reports that our Lady Macbeth simply considers herself "an old-fashioned Methodist."

There is a direct line of descent from the Methodist Social Gospelers of the 19th century to St. Hillary and the monstrous Clintonian Left.

Hillary's pronouncement is not as absurd as it might first seem. Hillary Rodham was born in northern Illinois Yankee country, in the Chicago suburb of Park Ridge. Her grandparents told stories about their Methodism in early 19th century England, not many generations removed from the founding of Methodism by John Wesley. Hillary's family were pious Methodists, and Hillary herself was inducted into the Social Gospel by the Rev. Donald Jones, the then youth minister at her Park Ridge First United Methodist Church. I am sure that we are all gratified to learn how Hillary got her start in the cause of "social reform"; as Woodward fondly puts it, the Rev. Jones "developed his privileged suburban students' social consciences by taking them to visit migrant workers' children."

The most important passage in Woodward's article is his explanation of the importance of Methodism within the American Protestant spectrum: "More than other Protestants, Methodists are still inbued with the turn-of-the century social gospel, which holds that Christians have been commissioned to build the Kingdom of God on earth."

Only a few brush-strokes are needed to complete the picture. The Rev. Jones, a frequent visitor to the White House, but who seems at least to have a sense of humor and perspective that the arrogant and self-righteous Hillary totally lacks, puts it this way: Even today, says Rev. Jones, "when Hillary talks it sounds like it comes out of a Methodist Sunday-school lesson." And: "Hillary views the world through a Methodist lens. And we Methodists know what's good for you."

Now obviously, and of course, a lot of this is Hillary's drive to "reinvent" herself, that is, to create a duplicitous false image, to make herself less threatening to the angry American public. And surely the late nineteenth-century Social Gospelers would be horrified at the current multi-gendered, condomaniacal Clintonian Left, to say nothing of the rapid revolving of poor John Wesley in his eighteenth-century English grave. But there is definitely a direct line of descent from the Methodist Social Gospelers of the nineteenth century to St. Hillary and the monstrous Clintonian Left. Mix into "old-fashioned Methodism" liberal doses of Marxism, the New Left, the pagan pantheist New Age, and the multicultural and sexual revolutions, stir briskly, and you get the current ruling horror that we all face, and are trying to roll back out of our lives. We face, in short, regardless of what hairdo or persona she affects next week, the evil Witch in the White House. ■

The Paradigm Kid

by M.N.R.

It's gotten to the point that whenever I hear of some "great new libertarian," I

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wince, sit down slowly, and make sure I've got a good grip on some smelling salts in one hand, and on my revolver in the other. Anyone remember James Pinkerton, the Brave New Libertarian of the Bush Ad- ministration? He was a young lad out of the West, a White House aide, always gassing about "the new paradigm," thereby bringing to Washington a fashionable new philosophy-of-science term three decades old. What exactly the "new paradigm" was supposed to be was somewhat murky, but it was definitely supposed to be a rolling back of Big Government.

What's happened to The Pink since? What always happens to bright young policy wonks after they hit Washington: they stick there like glue, shifting around every few months from one thinktank to another, doing a little project, a little teaching, but always keeping their hand inside the Beltway, waiting for their next Big Chance.

Well, Pink thinks he's found that Big Chance, in the form of a New New Paradigm. You judge how much it has to do with rolling back Big Government or advancing liberty. Pinkerton has a "Column Right" op-ed in the *Los Angeles Times* (October 6), in the form of an open letter to Colin Powell, urging Powell to run for President in 1996.

Falling at the feet of Colin Powell is, in the first place, bad enough. What is Colin Powell's attraction for *anyone*, much less an alleged "libertarian," whether New Paradigm or Old? That he is a person of no known views on any political subject? That he Won, or helped win, the Gulf War? Big deal. That's heroism—to clobber a hopelessly outgunned and outclassed country, and to bulldoze masses of surrendering Iraqi soldiers into the sand? Because he's a black guy who looks good in a uniform? What sort of nonsense is this?

But that's not the half of it. Lots of Republicans who have no taste for ideology or principle are hankering after Powell. The real doozy is the policy this "libertarian" is urging Powell to pursue. He wants Powell to concentrate on One Big Issue, and that issue is to revive, on a much grander scale, Franklin Roosevelt's collectivistic Civilian Conservation Corps, in which unemployed urban youth were packed off to the countryside, were housed in barracks, and proceeded to plant, as Pinkerton tells us, no less than "3 billion trees." Pinkerton wants Powell to revive and update the CCC by shifting the emphasis to welfare; Powell could take millions of youth out of the inner cities, and end both crime and welfare as we know it. As Pink puts it, "we need a million kids out of the ghetto and into the fresh air"; there, the Powell Corps could use those kids' street smarts to plant *6* billion trees, "and launch the recycling equivalent of Desert Storm." Wow! *That*'s better than midnight basketball! 2AM tree-planting!

What about Slick Willie's national service program"? Peanuts, snorts the Pink, "weenie." Willie is only inducting 20,000 kids into his teeny program. Waxing rhapsodic, Pinkerton is exultant: a new and bigger CCC would mobilize the entire spectrum from Jesse Jackson to Bill Bennett: both of these worthies, promises Pinkerton, could be united by Powell "on the same all-star team."

So what does Pink's New New Paradigm have to do with libertarianism? And doesn't this swollen CCC sound like Big Government? Big, small, who cares, answers Pink, "the issue isn't big versus small, it's smart versus dumb." So the new thing is going to be Smart Government!

Well, the media all said it during the Bush years. Young Pinkerton was smart, smart as a whip, full of new ideas, one of the brightest of the Bushie thousand points of light.

Look fella, if you're big on planting trees, you're not going to find much scope inside the Beltway. Why don't *you* get out of town quick, stop polluting American public opinion, and get yourself out there to Idaho or Wyoming or somewhere, and start plant-

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ing the first 100,000 trees yourself, and report back after you've finished? ■

The Arduous Calling of Religious Conservatives

by Rabbi Mayer Schiller

I think that trying to restrain an entire contemporary age is like a passenger in a carriage holding on to the seat in front of him in order to stop the carriage. He determines himself in continuity with the age, and yet he wishes to hold it in check. No, the only thing to do is to get out of the carriage, and so hold oneself in check.

—Soren Kierkegaard

In a Western world seemingly bent on its own destruction the duty of religious conservatives is multi-layered and painfully difficult.

Before exploring the nature of this task it would be helpful to spend a moment clarifying our terms. The words liberalism and conservatism simply do not do justice to the apocalyptic nature of the struggle to which G-d has summoned all good men in our era. They are soft words that seem to speak of issues about which there are debates, elections, campaigns and over which good men may disagree.

Let us lay this pleasing myth to rest quickly and speak the truth for my time with you is short this morning.

Liberalism is not a political creed. It is a vile combination of sickness and evil. Its hatred of faith, decency and all the beautiful norms and traditions of Western Man has come to dominate the world we live in. It has polluted everything in life that we once cherished: our schools, sports and entertainment; our courts, government and military. It rules supreme even in our mainstream religious denominations. The Democratic Party is its standard bearer and has been for 62 years. The Republican Party meekly acquiesces to whatever perversity it spews forth.

Talk of the Republicans brings us to the second term requiring definition: Conservatism. If by Conservatism we mean a clear and firm commitment to the faiths of our civilization, to the unique fusing of Sinai, Bethlehem, Greece, Rome and the Northland which is Europe and in America heavily flavored by the standards of Anglo-Saxondom, then Conservatism is just another word for normalcy and the good, in short for decency.

There used to be a unified political movement in America that spoke in clear terms for this sense of the good. It has periodically threatened the establishment via the enthusiasms which surrounded MacArthur, McCarthy, Goldwater, Wallace and Reagan. The last mentioned achieved electoral success, but was effectively de-fanged, having little if any effect on our national and civilizational decline.

Today in the place of this movement we find a wide assortment of remnants, who have managed to survive the tidal wave of decadence that has washed over this once magnificent civilization.

Let us briefly identify them; There are those Catholics who have managed to retain their faith despite the forces unleashed by Vatican II. These Catholics find their voice in journals and newspapers ranging from *The Wanderer, Crisis, Fidelity, New Oxford Review* and *First Things*, who believe that their own hierarchy is still essentially on their side, to those who seriously question that proposition such as *Latin Mass* and *The Remnant*, to those such as *The Angelus* and *The Roman Catholic* who are convinced that their problems begin at the top.

There are pockets of the Reformed Church, Lutherans and Anglicans, who still man the barricades of their centuries old faiths.

And last, but certainly not least among believing Christians there are the amazing evangelical and fundamentalist movements, who long ago buried by the media, have outlived both Darrow and Mencken to now emerge as the largest force for good on the American scene.

There are the paleo-cons of

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the Old Right who yet defend their vision of a pre-1932 America. And who, truly committed to the truths of the Judeo-Christian tradition, could deny that America then was a far better place to live than it is today?

There are the neo-cons who discovered rather late in the game that their policies and those of their immediate intellectual predecessors had brought the nation to the brink of the abyss. They yearn for a return to the New York City of the 40's and 50's and its colleges which provided their youthful radicalism with a setting of civility, decency and stability. And it must be noted that of late their "winding passages" have led them to contemplate a "return of the sacred" and issue a recent call, however vague, for Jews to reconsider their faith. Who knows, perhaps their contact with the Christian Right will lead them towards further reflections on their own faith. (Incidentally, for me, it was the conservative movement of the late fifties and early sixties which introduced me to Lewis, Chesterton, Belloc etc. all of whom helped lead me in the direction of Jewish Orthodoxy.)

By and large Establishment Jewry in America doesn't accept their own faith as true.

Finally there are those who following in the footsteps of a Hume or a Santayana, or more recently Burnham or Zoll, who base their Rightism on the empirical givens of the human condition. And who cannot but conclude after the past six decades of liberalism triumphant that it is a creed dedicated to maniacal schemes pursued against all rational evidence and indifferent to human suffering...be it the suffering of those under Communism for seventy years or of Zulu and Afrikaner in South Africa, or of the real life victims of bussing, affirmative action and the wave of crime unleashed upon the nation.

Having identified the assorted remnants that have resisted this wickedness, it is worth digressing for a moment to discuss the relationship of Jews and Judaism to all of them. There is little doubt that Judaism as revealed at Sinai and amplified in the Oral Law is, in its affirmation of traditional morality, hierarchical society, sacred ritual and Ultimate Truth, at war with every form of liberal decadence. Why then have Jews not been publicly identified with those who assent to value in contemporary America?

There are several answers to this question: 1) By and large Establishment Jewry in America doesn't accept their own faith as true. They are not believers. Hence, their adoption of liberalism, the creed of those who despise faith.

2) Among traditional Jews the matter is a bit more complex. For many their reluctance is often born of a desire to support any individual who evidences sufficient support of Israel, regardless of the damage his policies may unleash upon America. (Hence, for example the Modern Orthodox supported Clinton over Bush.) For the more traditional Orthodox, their view is that they must be concerned, first and foremost, with the physical survival of their own communities which an expansive welfare state will best facilitate.

Both these views are linked by their inability to see Jews as responsible participants in general society. This sentiment is clearly rooted in centuries when Jews were persecuted and excluded from society.

Fortunately there are increasing signs—and certainly this conference prominent among them—that more and more traditional Jews are beginning to see that they have a practical stake in society as a whole. It is also to be hoped that they will recognize the immorality of indifference to

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a general community which grants us normative status.

3) For some traditional Jews who live emotionally in modernity, their lives become ideologically compartmentalized. In *shul* they read of Biblical values, but their real psyches are shaped by the mind-controlling totalitarians of the decadent media.

4) And this relates to almost all Jews, there is the ever present fear of anti-Semitism. In brief the belief is that Gentiles who take their religions, cultures, nations or races too seriously may decide that Jews are not a part of them. This has led traditionally to Jewish support for civil, contractual and economic decipherings of the realm, in other words, liberalism.

To digress further for a moment on a topic that deserves much deeper elaboration, I offer my own personal observation having journeyed extensively among the Right over the years and having spoken at length to assorted types, ranging from the Conservative Party and the H.N.P. in South Africa, to various English nationalists, to Catholic traditionalists, to staunch American Old Rightists I have found almost no anti-Semitism, if we define the term as referring to one who instinctively dislikes or fears all Jews for no reason. I did find people who disliked *some* Jews for very good reasons. However, in all my travels I have invariably found non-Jews of the "hard right" more than happy to embrace Jews who stand together with them in defense of their and our civilization.

To return to the matter at hand, what are these remnants to do in the face of a society where all the means of communication, education and government have been wrested from them?

Well, first they must make absolutely sure that their own minds and souls are pure, that they, unlike the Republicans and far too many mainstream conservatives, do not view as somehow normal what this nation has become.

They must realize that everything spewed forth by the post-1963 American elite (to select a somewhat arbitrary, but telling date) has been vile, that its thoughts are, to use the Hebrew phrase, *treif.*

They must learn to abjure the realm. Its government is not theirs, nor its educational system nor its entertainment. Even its dress, manners and very gestures are perverse.

Emotionally their home should be in the centuries and even recent decades of sanity. A good rule of thumb is to look at any aspect of modernity and see it as it would have been viewed by Americans in 1950, or better still in 1890.

Indeed, it is best for religious conservatives, especially if they have families, to try and live among the remnants of sanity, physically close to sound churches and synagogues and their attendant schools.

The public school system is the evil regime's brainwashing arm. Decent people should shun it.

The news media should be viewed as we looked upon *Pravda* in the old days; full of lies and bent upon the destruction of all we value.

What are the duties of religious conservatives in contemporary America towards our fellow citizens?

First we must be ever mindful that most Americans today are, indeed, *victims.* The young know no other world than that of television, movies, music, shopping malls, talk shows and the vile public schools. They live totally under the dark wing of the world created by liberals. Older Americans are confused. Certainly the world seemed better *then,* but television tells them it wasn't, so they just don't know what to think. This is the world inhabited by the George Bushes of our time. They feel something is out of line, but not possessing a clear sense of religion, or of their own civilizational identity, they are at a loss to offer firm opposition to the decadence or propose any alternative vision.

To both the above groups our response should not be hatred or disdain, but a pity born of love. They had their way of life stolen from them and no one they look to can tell them where to find it.

It is only by having first established ourselves firmly within the confines of sanity that we may then sally forth among the natives in order to return them to elementary

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decency. This is not an easy task. It requires the skills of a deprogrammer in order to free a soul from the iron grip of the childish cult of modernism.

Yet, it is to this task that we are summoned by the G-d that calls upon us to care for our fellow man and the society that we inhabit.

We have thus far spoken about personal/communal survival and the rescue of individuals from the horrors of our time. What about the nation as a whole? Is it realistic to think that the trend of Western history towards secularism and decadence can be reversed? Can the Washington-Hollywood control be broken?

Sadly it would seem that those who control the education and entertainment structures control the next generation and the nation's future.

This is an especially troubling thought when one realizes that America will in the next century no longer be a White nation. It is precisely non-White Americans who have been the most victimized by liberalism. They came of age, so to speak, in a Leftist dominated nation. They are the ultimate children of liberalism. They are also our future majority.

What is needed is a powerful flushing out of the national arteries by a political movement unafraid to call good and evil by their real names and to act accordingly.

Toward Tradition and Rabbi Lapin have performed what is known in Hebrew as a *Kiddish Hasham* (sanctification of G-d's name) by bringing together Jews and Evangelicals to bear witness to G-d's truths for all men. This coalition must be enlarged to include all manner of Protestants and Traditional Catholics. It can also serve as a forum to unite the paleo and neo cons, who as our civilization nears collapse, can certainly find better enemies than each other.

That's one thing the liberals can't lie to me about. I know what the homes, families, schools and sports of the fifties were.

In truth the only Americans happy with the liberal lunacy are the underclass who live off it and the power elite who maniacally enforce it. The general populace is ill at ease and might well respond to a fearless and revolutionary Right.

The result of our struggle lies in G-d's hands. We are merely called upon to act. Our actions will, at the very least show many Americans that they and their families can emotionally secede from the decadence and live a life of faith.

People often ask me how I became a conservative. In response I've pointed to an early love for Greek and Roman mythology and the Bible stories my mother read to me. I've noted the heavy influence of the westerns of my youth. I certainly wouldn't be here today without the deep impressions left on me by the Lone Ranger, Davy Crockett, the Rifleman and others. In sum G-d allowed me to live in the fifties, the last period of sanity in our history. If it was, in the words of Kuehnelt-Leddihn, already living from the "whiff of the empty bottle," it was still a hearty aroma.

You see that's one thing the liberals can't lie to me about. I know what the homes, families, schools and sports of the fifties were. I know what Brooklyn was then. I was there.

And in that Brooklyn as a boy I'd read the Chip Hilton sports books of Clair Bee. Some of you may remember them. They featured Chip, the All-American boy whose devotion to G-d, his mother and sportsmanship was consistent with the values of that era. And his coach the "Rock," old Henry Rockwell who taught the boys to play their best, but always fair and square.

I'd like to read to you the ending of a typical Chip Hilton book, *Strike Three*

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where our hero has saved some "bad boys" from the "other side of town, the South Side" and helped them to stay on the Valley Falls team and win the state baseball championship, of course.

Remember these books were read by all and not regarded as "naive" or "simplistic."

"Chip tightened his grip on the shoulders of the two South-siders. All the worries and troubles had been worthwhile after all! He was glad he had persisted in his efforts to win the friendship of these two. They were really on the team now...."

"The eyes of the three boys met and they exchanged winks. Then, arm in arm, they turned toward the dugout where Rockwell stood with a happy smile and an outstretched hand."

Ladies and gentlemen this is the America that liberalism killed. With G-d's help we can restore it. ■

Rabbi Schiller, of Yeshiva University High School for Boys in New York City, delivered this talk at a Toward Tradition Conference in Washington, D.C., on October 6, 1994.

The Cognitive State

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

If liberals worry that *The Bell Curve* by Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray will undermine Big Government, they haven't read it. Instead of the Egalitarian State, the authors give us the Cognitive State, a social democracy run for the benefit of the clever. This Smart New World is just as morally objectionable as the current system, and it may end up as more intrusive and expensive.

Their central thesis is well known: IQ is predictive of social and economic standing, is largely inherited, and is unevenly distributed among class and ethnic groups. Fine.

What's troubling is the political implications they tease out of this benign observation. "Some sort of redistribution is here to stay" (p. 548), they announce, but it should be rearranged to subsidize the sages. So the Cognitive State should offer a massive "federal prize scholarship program" for the smarties (p. 441) and provide tax-funded private school tuition for everyone else (p. 440). Possible cost: more than $500 billion a year.

As for society's failures, the government should hand out "birth control mechanisms that are increasingly flexible, foolproof, inexpensive, and safe" (p. 549). Really? No known contraceptive is foolproof. Who can doubt that federal eugenics would also be part of the Cognitive State?

But lest you think these crafty leaders are heartless, they would have the central government provide "all children" with "good nutrition" (p. 414); people "at the bottom of society" with straight-out cash (p. 548); and those "at substantial risk for mental retardation and living in the worst conditions" with "highly intensive preschool programs" (p. 415).

The government would also "offer a helping hand" to the cognitively deprived with "free courses" to "help them do better on ability tests used for employment" (p. 505). Above all, Herrnstein and Murray want the welfare state organized so that people who work have "a decent standard of living"—here's the key—"even if the kinds of work they can do are not highly valued in the marketplace" (p. 547).

This is not the only place where the authors reject market standards of merit. The Cognitive State would have affirmative action regulations too. For example, when "two candidates" are "fairly closely matched," universities should "give the nod to the applicant from the disadvantaged background" (p. 457). What the poor soul from the "advantaged" background thinks is apparently irrelevant.

And in one shameless proposal, the authors would have the Cognitive State provide "long-term funding for researchers," with "no constraints" on how the money is used, plus "buffers against bureaucratic meddling." The money should go to people who eschew "political correctness" and deal with "the

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hardest questions" (p. 13).

Hmm. I wonder who fits that bill?

The authors worry that their readers might consider this program "elitist." Nah. It's just another scheme concocted by the New Class to continue its dominance of our lives. The government would provide cash for both the sharp and the dull, and the middle class would pick up the tab.

How is this fundamentally different from the present system?

All told, this is the most overhyped book in years. Its tone is pretentious, its prose is opaque, and the authors' repeated professions of love for the Low-IQed are too much to bear.

Its tone is pretentious, its prose is opaque, and the authors' repeated professions of love for the Low-IQed are too much to bear.

Let's put the pieties aside. Despite their claims, the authors aren't busting taboos, putting their careers on the line, daring to ask the hard questions, or pursuing science for science's sake. Who's kidding whom? Charles Murray is now among the most famous men alive, and a lot richer than he used to be.

In 1992, Daniel Seligman of *Fortune* magazine published a magnificent piece of popular science called *A Question of Intelligence*. It explained the IQ controversy in one-fifth the length, and with five times the coherence. And unlike *The Bell Curve*, Seligman never strays into statism or cranky social theory. That may be why the cognitive elite buried his book.

The modern errors in political philosophy boil down to two: the Rawlesian, which says the state ought to cater to the least among us, and now the Murraysian, which says the state ought to cater to the most guileful among us.

Here's a better idea. Let's everyone stop fighting for a piece of the public pie, return the money and power to the individuals and communities from whence they came, and let well enough alone.

A natural aristocracy will emerge, as it always does in a free society, but it will have a lot more going for it than a high score on the Wechsler Test.

Besides, the case for individual freedom rests in part on the recognition that no one is smart enough to manage society. "Those who plead for liberty," wrote F.A. Hayek, "include among the ignorant themselves." ■

Anne's War

by L.H.R., Jr.

Government lawyer Anne Bingaman is at it again, prosecuting another silly antitrust case from her bureaucratic perch in the Justice Department. She's developed a knack for picking cases that are so trivial, so ludicrous, and so anti-consumer, that she is discrediting antitrust law itself. But then, every cloud has a silver lining.

First she attacked Microsoft for developing the world's most popular software, which I'm happily using at the moment. Then she decided to go after car dealers for putting customers first.

Ms. Bingaman claims that the "no-dicker sticker," the pricing strategy now spreading throughout the automobile industry, is an anti-competitive trick. But if she succeeds in banning the practice, or discouraging it through intimidation, she will throw us back to the days of the showroom showdown.

Buying a car under the old system was the normal customer's migraine. He wants to browse, but the salesman tells him to ignore the sticker—he can make a deal. Unfortunately, this deal doesn't involve revealing the price. When, finally, a figure is mentioned, the real cat-and-mouse game starts.

Too high. Too low. The salesman pretends to talk to the manager. On and on it goes until the customer has

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wasted hours, and been browbeaten in the bargain. Experts say he has to walk out of the showroom three times, and drive off at least once, to get a fair price on a car.

Then, just when the poor schnook thinks he got a decent deal (thanks to the salesman's congratulations and the rueful looks of the manager), he discovers that his neighbor spent $1,000 less. Economists who study this routine say dealers have five or six shells to hide their per-car profit under, whether it's the terms of financing, the "rebate," the options, or whatever. It take a virtual car-market scientist to figure it out.

Price guides help, but the market isn't perfect, any more than man is perfect. And the whole business is so unpleasant that the left has used it to attack capitalism itself. Empirical studies have shown that men get better prices then women, and whites better than blacks, which has led for calls for more regulation.

That's a terrible idea, but, honestly, what person doesn't hate the whole process? Shopping for almost everything else is fun. Why does the car market appear to fail?

But—competition to the rescue—it hasn't, for the Saturn Division of General Motors instituted the no-haggle price. (Mercedes Benz was first, but most people didn't notice.) Posting the actual selling price was Saturn's best move, and it became the talk of the industry. The Saturn is a fine car, but its real advantage is that you know the price and are under no pressure.

Under *customer* pressure, however, other car companies went along. "Value pricing" makes it more difficult to sock it to the vulnerable, but competition forced dealers into it.

But Ms. Bingaman, the nation's chief "trustbuster," says this pro-consumer reform violates federal laws against "vertical pricing." She is investigating past and present officers of the National Automobile Dealers Association, demanding their phone records and every scrap of paper they might have scribbled a note on.

Ms. Bingaman says this harassment is necessary to stop exploitation. In fact, she is promoting it. Above-board prices are exactly what consumers want, or at least the non-rug dealer contingent.

Value pricing means Americans don't have to make a deal with people they suspect are even lower than Congressmen. At last, salesmen can answer questions and tell consumers what they should like about the car. They can be sellers instead of dissemblers.

Saturn-style pricing has sometimes led to lower prices, and sometimes to higher ones. The main point is that it has made car shopping less akin to tooth drilling. So Ms. Bingaman proposes to restore the pain, in the name of the consumer.

Along with the Justice Department, the real villains of the antitrust process have always been the big companies that use the government to cripple their competitors. Is the flood of big corporate contributions to her husband, a U.S. Senator from New Mexico, after she was appointed, a coincidence? With Microsoft, the complaint was brought by other software companies. Who can doubt that some auto businesses prefer shell-game pricing, and are willing to lobby for it?

Economists joke that if a price is too high, it's "gouging," if it's too low, it's "predatory," and if it's the same, it's "colluding." Now the joke is on the government, which thinks private enterprise can't do anything right. ■

The White Fortress

by L.H.R., Jr.

As recently as the 1920s, an American could walk up to the front door of the White House and knock. But with the Roosevelt Revolution, and the growing size and power of the central state, the presidential mansion began to be cut off.

This was necessary. After all, if the government was going to claim the power and ability to cure all social ills, then the President would be a lightning rod.

Or a target, and the other day, when the White House

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was fired on for the first time since the War of 1812, the Secret Service took out its wish list, which includes closing off Pennsylvania Avenue. No, no, said Bill Clinton. This is the "people's house," and it must be accessible. We can't inconvenience drivers and tourists.

But the Secret Service is right. The White House must be secured, and not only for reasons of presidential safety. The grounds should be larger, and a high wall, topped with razor wire, should enclose them. Pennsylvania and other avenues should be closed off. Lafayette Park should be a security bunker. There should be massive gates, guard towers, barracks for presidential troops, and machine-gun nests. A few searchlights would be nice as well.

When Americans see the present White House, and its plain wrought iron fence, it's too easy to think of the republic of the founders. You can forget, for a moment, this globe-girdling empire, the biggest, richest, most-powerful government in world history.

The Leviathan state not only taxes us into poverty, it subverts our families, communities, and businesses, and ruins other countries too. And it shoots people, here and abroad. Caesar can't be housed in Andy Jackson's house. The President needs a palace of menace.

If drivers and tourists are inconvenienced, so much the better. Then they can contemplate what's happened to America. ■

Giuliani's Futile Reform

by L.H.R., Jr.

Following the pathetic example of Mikhail Gorbachev, U.S. politicians are proposing semi-repairs to the welfare state. Bill Clinton is chief reformer, but he's joined by the mayor of New York, Rudolph Giuliani, who wants to put 150,000 welfare recipients to work.

Like so much in government, that sounds good while actually being terrible. Giuliani knows that the public is outraged over the taxpayer exploitation, social cost, crime, and illegitimacy associated with welfare. So he wants to make childless, able-bodied welfare recipients work 9 to 5.

What's wrong with that? Well, he wants to do it not by terminating their dole, but by disguising and increasing it. He wants them to "work" for the city.

People who laze around the street corner soaking up tax dollars should support themselves. But ensconcing them in government offices is hardly the way to do it. Make-work jobs are anti-productive from an economic standpoint, and they further entrench the disastrous idea that it is moral to live off others without their consent.

And then there are the practical concerns. Already, the "service" available from New York City's massive bureaucracy is famously bad. Long lines and surly workers are the norm, as is mind-numbing ineptitude. But add 150,000 welfare clients, by and large the least competent people in society, and citizens will long for the days of mere rudeness and stupidity. The New York welfare culture is a violent one, after all, and a request, or even a direct gaze, can be interpreted as a challenge to fight.

Although "workfare" will cost much more in tax money, the only organized opposition has come from public-sector unions, who want the civil service trough all to themselves. But think, for example, of the effect of making workfare apply only to the childless. The work-averse can easily fix that by having kids, meaning that illegitimacy will increase.

More important, workfare replicates the central fault of the negative income tax and all the other welfare half-measures that have been floating around the Republican left for 25 years. It attempts to resolve the inherent contradiction of the welfare state while keeping the dough flowing to the clients.

No liberal and few conservatives can admit to that contradiction: that welfare rewards and therefore encourages the very condition it is supposed to alleviate. If we gave cash subsidies to people

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with four toes on one foot, we'd have an epidemic of bodily mutilation. Thus with subsidies, we can have as much bastardy, idleness, sickness, and poverty as we want.

New York's welfare clients, reports a study from Change-NY, can receive up to $32,500 in government benefits. It takes more than tinkering to repair a mess like that. The only solution is to restore the natural order of liberty, where the incentives are roughly akin to St. Paul's dictum: if you don't work, you don't eat.

Charity should be for those who really can't work and have no family or savings. But adding an army of the lackadaisical to the payroll can only make the city government more ridiculous, more expensive, and perhaps more dangerous.

Taxpayers ought to oppose Giuliani's attempt to save the welfare state from itself, but a fair number will be tricked into supporting what appears to be a conservative proposal. For that reason, the idea of workfare will spread, as liberals and a good number of conservatives seek to save giveaway government from its inevitable end, as Gorbachev tried to salvage socialism.

The redistributionist project cannot be rescued from ruin, however, no matter what fix-it schemes are tried. A system based on taking from the productive and giving to the non-productive must fail, for it penalizes work and rewards non-work. Enough of that, and any society will fail.

A Russian joke compared Gorbachev's go-slow reforms to gradually changing the direction of traffic on a highway, and indeed the pile-ups have been endless. The only practical way to deal with a social catastrophe is to enact new rules overnight.

What new rules? Property is private, contracts will be enforced, and crime will be punished. After that, the law has no moral authority to interfere.

We are a long way from the libertarian utopia. Thanks to the New Deal and its imitators, much of New York City is a sewer of crime, indolence, and squalor. That will not change so long as politicians push redistribution, even if they mask it as the work ethic. ■

Celebrate Nafta?

by L.H.R., Jr.

Nearly a year after Nafta passed, its proponents are busting a piñata in celebration of its supposed merits. For example, the *Wall Street Journal* published a 14-page tribute to the trade-regulatory bloc, dubbing it a glorious success.

The evidence for this claim is that trade is growing between the U.S. and Mexico. In the first six months of 1994, they report, U.S. exports to Mexico rose at an annual rate of 16%. But this is the logical fallacy of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. Sequence does not prove causality. And in the year before Nafta, U.S. exports to Mexico grew 19%. They don't explain the decline.

Trade is great, but why give Nafta credit for all cross-border exchanges? That's like praising the Agriculture Department for all our food. It also begs the question of why we need government to manage an economic activity that was already thriving.

In the fine print, however, the *Journal* also notes that trade has also become convoluted since Nafta: "U.S. companies have complained that exporting to Mexico has become more time-consuming and complicated."

Tariffs are lower, it's true, but other transactions costs, imposed by U.S. and Mexican customs, have gone up as a substitute. The trucks of small American exporters have been delayed at the border for weeks by arbitrary rule-making and documentation deemed "incomplete" by the bureaucrats. It's not at all clear why this is supposed to be better than already low tariffs, which were headed down.

Some people have done well, of course. Nafta consultants charge $250 an hour to teach businesses how to fill out the forms. Customs brokers used to be a luxury in most transactions. Now they are an absolute necessity for all.

And yet, the *Journal* reports, these brokers "seem to complicate the process."

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"One day a broker will say he needs an additional document faxed to him. The next day, he'll say he needs the original of the document. This continues as the broker, paid by the day, runs up his fees."

Another group that's gotten rich off Nafta is the U.S. environmental industry. But these aren't productive enterprises, to whom we should wish higher sales. They are government-spawned entities, staffed by environmentalists, that serve no consumers but profit from regulations drafted by the environmental lobby.

One member of the environmental overclass just left his job as the EPA's "attache" in Mexico City to become the Mexican branch manager of a California company that lives on environmental mandates. This man will live the life of Pancho Villa, and become one of the visible symbols of Nafta's "success."

Another big American firm has joined with Grupo Professional Planeacion y Proyectos, Mexico's largest environmental company, to cash in on the multi-government subsidies. And with billions at stake in the environmental racket, this is surely only the beginning.

Recall that Nafta included an environmental side deal that mandated "upward harmonization" of regulations and pledged $3 billion in government loan guarantees to bring it about. Nafta also created the taxpayer-funded North American Development Bank. Turns out, 90% of its loans go to enforce higher environmental regulations, which hit small firms the hardest.

Average Mexicans, not only the Zapatistas, have come to see free trade as foreign imperialism.

And the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers says eleven Mexican cities need new sewage-treatment plants, at a cost of $2.5 billion. Lest you be concerned, Charles Meissner of the Commerce Department assures us that the American taxpayer will pick up that tab too.

The corporate big boys, with their hordes of lawyers, benefit not only from direct contracts, but from the relatively heavier burdens imposed on their smaller competitors, who simply can't negotiate the complex new regulations. This empirical reality fulfills the concern, expressed by all of Nafta's critics, that the trade treaty was an insider deal.

Nafta is not the way free trade is supposed to work. Historically, that long and arduous process has been driven by private businessmen as they persuade or bribe officials in other countries to open up their borders. This takes time, but in the case of Mexico, it was working. But Nafta puts the process in the hands of supranational authorities, and squeezes out the small guys.

Average Mexicans, not only the Zapatistas, have come to see free trade as foreign imperialism. Carpetbaggers, some people call the major corporations now vying for a subsidized market share. The result has been multiple assassinations, more statism, and increased alienation. And that was before the Clinton administration announced Nafta's final contribution: a mutual tax-enforcement agreement.

None of this will deter Nafta's amen corner, who have enough money and media to put a positive spin on every setback for real free trade. But it does show us it's time to redouble our efforts to defeat the global Nafta called Gatt. ■

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P.C. Watch

by L.H.R., Jr.

The USC Graduate

The p.c. media edited O.J. Simpson's famous "suicide" letter. After all, they argued, it would be "racist" not to. Here's an example of how Simpson's letter actually read:

"Recitly we came to the understanding that for now were weren't right for each other at least for now. Dispite our love we were diffearnt and thats why we murtually agreesd to go our spaerate ways. It was tough spitting for a a second time." (*American Renaissance*, November 1994)

Not Burned

U.S. Senator Conrad Burns (R.-Mont.) was chastised by the *Washington Post* for a racial remark, although it apparently made little difference in Montana. On several occasions, Burns related the story of an elderly rancher asking him, "Conrad, how can you live back there [in Washington, D.C.] with all those niggers?" Burns replied that it was "a Hell of a challenge." (*Washington Post*, 10/22/94)

Blue, Not Black

"I'm racist," David Milch told a Hollywood seminar for aspiring screenwriters. The executive producer of the "NYPD Blue" tv show also said that blacks are lousy screenwriters, and that he was able to write about racist characters easily because he shared their beliefs. A particular scene was "an unapologetic embrace of racism and I like it," said Milch, who thought the seminar was off the record. Screenwriting has to be a "meritocracy," he added. (*Washington Post*, 11/4/94)

Human

Every known species is represented in a museum by a "type specimen" of bones, except humans. Now paleontologists want the skull of the 19th-century dinosaur-hunter Edward Drinker Cope to be the human type specimen, to honor his pioneering work. But he may never make it. Not only was Professor Cope "white and male," clearly ruling him out as the human type, but critics note he was a "racist." (*Wall Street Journal*, 11/1/94)

Rubric Rhetoric

Traditionalist Catholics were devastated when Pope John Paul II approved altar girls. But since they don't call it the altar under any other circumstance these days, why should we let them get away with it here? The institution of "table girls" is somehow less distressing. ■

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